1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

433 458 The main relevant conclusion was unmistakably ominous: 'Government expenditure has more than made up for that of the Knights, and has diverted more of the labour of the population to the service, direct or indirect, of the foreign government which applied it to purposes entirely Imperial and unconnected with the special interests of the colony. Doubtless this expenditure has led to immediate prosperity... but the basis of this prosperity is artificial and precarious' (6). It is possible to argue the degree of validity of the third premiss of the first clause but the general truth is undeniable. This general picture is so clear that in this particular chapter attention will be focussed only on some aspects of the Maltese economy as it has developed during the last 50 years.

43 The changing character of Maltese Trade is well evidenced in the annual reports of the Customs and Port Department. Before World War I, Malta was still of some importance in Mediterranean transit trade, partfcularly for goods destined for North African and Levant ports. Between 1910 and 1922 the annual average weight of such merchandise handled was 17,000 tons (7). This activity almost disappeared during hostilities and after a short post-war boom settled down at a new low level handling only some 3,000 tons of merchandise. In part this was due to the elimination of the important German and Austrian connection which, in a Report published in 1919 (8), was the subject of much hostile Maltese comment. More important was the fact that the gap thus left was not filled by other foreign or local interests. The Maltese writers of the 1919 Report were not able to obtain their desire to have a company formed by a few merchants, who would thus teach Maltese capitalists that the investment of moneys in industries and especially in shipping is more profitable and better for the Islands and for the capitalists themselves, than the investment in doubtful securities or in reckless speculation'. The fundamental difficulties of expanding port [504] activity have remained. Malta, for all the grandiloquence of the name 'Grand Harbour', has until very recently possessed but poor physical facilities for handling shipping. All vessels of over 2,000 tons have had to be worked by lighter, and civil repair facilities as well as warehousing have been extremely limited. In that the needs of the Fleet have been paramount this is understandable; the consequences have been deplorable. The absence of enthusiasm for [454] local investment of Maltese capital has been equally inhibiting. There survives, even intensified during the 1930's, a traditional feeling of insecurity which was succinctly noted by a banker giving evidence before the 1911 Commission: 'There is plenty of money in the Island... there is not much trust, I think' (9). Even now, while the rate of saving in Malta is very high - c. 14 per cent. of total personal income, too large a proportion of the savings are invested abroad - some £70 millions. Given this basic insecurity, which still appears in conversations with business men and which is so deeply rooted as to be very difficult to remove, development is difficult. Moreover, since the Maltese for an island [218] people are singularly non-maritime in character, and, in conditions no more difficult than in many other parts of the Mediterranean, have almost ignored the fishery industry (10), there exists no traditional basis for marine affairs. In these circumstances the value of the handing over of the Naval base to British civilian firms, and the policy of attracting foreign (mainly British) manufacturing concerns, thus making available both facilities and most of the capital, is on economic grounds indisputable.

439 457 One other aspect of port and trading activities must be examined, the nature and balance of imports and exports. The changing character of world trade in the first place has vitally affected the nature of Malta's entrepôt activity. By 1956, the value of re-exports had reached over two and a half million pounds, of which one and a half million represented mineral fuels and lubricants, mainly aviation spirit and turbine fuel (11). This is still the pattern today. Of Malta's transit trade in re-exports, by far the biggest proportion is concerned with supplying the Garrison in its new and more mobile form. The imbalance between retained imports and domestic exports remains essentially similar to that observed very much earlier and is best examined in conjunction with other economic elements.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Table 40. Land ownership and quality of land. Gozo.

Percentage of total agricultural land.

423*

	Civil Govnmt.	War Dept.	Church etc.	Private Landlord	Owner Occupier	Total %	Total 000 tm.
(a) Cultivated land							
1891	18.0		8.4	67.7		94.1	37
1901	21.1		11.3	62.8		95.2	32
1951	83.4				9.5	92.9	
1952	84.6				8.8	93.4	
(b) Uncultivated land							
1891	0.6		0.3	5.1	(1.1*)	5.9	2
1901	0.6		0.6	3.7		4.8	2
1951	6.6				0.5	7.1	
1952	6.2				0.2	6.4	
(c) Agricultural land							
1891	18.6		8.6	72.8		100	40
1901	21.6		11.8	66.5		99.9	33
1951	90.0				10.0	100	36
1952	91.1				8.9	100	38

*Ownership 'indefinite' - excluded from totals.

time, ownership would change. Since 1947, the existence of savings amassed during the price boom of World War II and the granting of old-age pensions have together encouraged the farmer to retire at an earlier age from active management and, through various crop-sharing agreements, to divide the usufruct with heirs, relations and friends. New types of tenure ensuring security to the original owner and opportunity to others are of considerable significance. Thus, over a short period of time simple freehold may be replaced by other legal situations although the *de facto* position of owner-occupied land as a whole remains unchanged. [454] [745]

Increasing accuracy of classification may correct these and other discrepancies but may in itself and as a result of such corrections introduce apparent fluctuations in general trends. Thus, because it is reasonable to assume that the most recent figures are most likely to be accurate, minor trends culminating in recent records should be ignored. 423* 127

Thus it is that, in the absence of external evidence, we may say that increases in the actual or proportional areas of land owned by Church and State have been insignificant. Table 41 shows in round figures the probable proportions of land owned by the various groups, based on various sources and broadly correct for the years around 1950. We are satisfied that this gives a more accurate picture than that usually presented.

The character of ownership and its effects on land use must also be related to the character of the land itself. Tables 39 and 40 show, among other features, the growing amount of 'wasteland' which now makes up some 15 per cent. of the so-called farmed area of Malta, and a lesser proportion of Gozo. This 'waste' is mainly marginal land which bears clear traces of earlier cultivation. True 'wasteland', virgin karst or long-abandoned, has always been excluded from the total figure. 423*

It has been suggested that such figures show that freehold property (in which the farmer might be expected to have the greatest interest) is most likely to

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 303]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

D. Economic and Commercial Characteristics

In 1956, Surridge (1) in a note on Co-operatives in Malta, endorsed the F.A.O. statement (2) that 'real progress in the co-operative field will be impossible so long as the essential connection between credit facilities and marketing remains unrecognised'.

Subsistence farming is not now practised in the Maltese Islands and all farmers are to a large extent controlled in their productive use of land by commercial markets. The application of capital and techniques to the land is much more than the simple provision of cheap credit.

Environmental conditions necessitate the continued and intensive use of hand labour in order to maintain in existence the artificially made fields and in order to utilise the maximum area of land. Therefore large-scale capital application is restricted to provision of better water supplies and similar public works projects. What is needed is the small scale use of capital in crops and livestock experimentation and for backing efforts in the export markets. Capital provision for land purchase should not be made until cultivators are less likely to indulge in speculative 'landgrabbing' which would result in greater problems of fragmentation, etc.

The amount of hidden capital in the countryside must be very considerable. Estimates that 80 per cent. of Malta's National Income is derived directly and indirectly from the Defence Departments cannot take into account all the gross real income in kind of the countryside - real income which never appears long enough to be measured. Present expenditure on improved equipment and better breeds of plant and livestock as well as spectacular efforts such as the building of Mosta Church go to show that, given incentive and faith in the future, the rural communities can and will deploy some considerable hidden reserves. Before any such capital will be applied, some compulsive force must operate on the farmers.

For centuries past, production has been largely for subsistence except for cotton and cumin seed, both exported to other Mediterranean countries. From the sixteenth century onward, urbanisation slowly created a significantly sized indigenous market and, with the disappearance of the trade in cotton during the nineteenth century, the home market became completely dominant. Some 70 years ago, potatoes became profitably exportable, while at the same time rapid urbanisation increased the size and wealth of the home market. As already noted, the domestic market for milk is of very recent origin, while export possibilities for crops other than potatoes are now slowly being realised.

Until World War II, marketing of produce was organised almost entirely by licensed but uncontrolled middlemen - the *pitkali* - who collected or accepted small lots, offered them for sale to wholesalers or retailers, and then paid the farmers the negotiated price less commission. (The details of organisation are well described in the 1911-12 Royal Commission Report (3).) During World War II, 'the evolution of internal Marketing made a great stride forward during the exigency... (4)'. This statement really means that controls were imposed on prices and marketing, controls which have basically survived to the present day. As the economics of production have become more confused with welfare policies, so the complexity of the situation has increased. All that we can do here is to sketch and illustrate the nature of this complexity.

The first factor to be reckoned with is that cultivators in no case know their costs of production. They have some general idea of whether a proposed price is unprofitable or not but this is not necessarily trustworthy. Secondly, while the fodder crops are not very perishable, the vegetable and fruit products which find their way out of the rural economy into Maltese markets are extremely so. While the market for such produce in Malta is not a very selective one, this on the whole has the effect of encouraging the sending to market of produce which is very liable to deterioration. In the markets, therefore, any produce surplus to clear requirements is virtually valueless. One complaint concerning the

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or [103] Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements - Zebbug, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people. Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship. The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce, the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revo- 178 lutions of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the 369 first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available. 464 The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken [166] up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years, the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent. 178 of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service 182 Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture. This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also [464] apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954 [167] totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields, storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieha, and even this, hidden from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years. Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it commands. Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways. 178 Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always 182 flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would 454

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

178
182
954

have guaranteed that the United Kingdom would not have abandoned Malta in the event of war in the Mediterranean? Those Maltese possessing power and knowledge traditionally have had too much to lose by local investment. The inadequacy of commercial port handling facilities, the paucity of processing industries, the shortage of credit, all these are products of fear.

Moreover, the changing circumstances of Mediterranean life which have increased security have also deprived Malta of her most easily earned income from entrepôt trade and her value as a calling station. The old commercial and financial attitudes of the most sophisticated part of society have become anachronisms in a new age, but still remain locally very deadening in their encouragement of hand-to-mouth activity.

What of old Malta? There the problem is one of breaking down isolation and correcting mental indigestion. The farmers of Malta have been commercially minded and experimentally inclined for centuries. Production for sale and exchange is the rule rather than the exception. But in fact they have little knowledge of commercial possibilities nor are they able to deal on equal terms with merchants. Often prepared to try new crops and equipment, their ignorance concerning the processes involved produces unhappy results. In short, the rural community in its partial isolation has seized with avidity a few crumbs of opportunity and knowledge and has never properly assimilated them.

It is a divided Malta that has met the new challenge, each sector too burdened with its past to respond vigorously on its own initiative.

The historic creation of an artificial environment has imposed severe restrictions on methods of utilising land, both now and in the future. The historic reasons for that creation have produced an ambivalent society, one part hampered by fear, one part hampered by ignorance. The main need now is for political security and a certain amount of economic stability. With security and stability the extrovert community may plough in its wealth rather than keep it poised for flight. The introvert rural community can then in turn translate its traditional experience into scientific idiom. In a suitable socio-economic climate and in an undivided society, many things could flourish, export market gardening and horticulture, processing industries, tourism, entrepôt trade and even sub-tropical research and training. Without such development, as is already foreshadowed in the landscape, Malta will become stagnant, depending on war and rumours of war for anything more than starvation level existence, while the landscape itself will reveal more and more of those rocky bare bones so decently interred in the past.

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

241 423 The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the points of definition just made. This is the complex of features which have produced the present landscape of tiny field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception. [433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over 55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than 9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or fodder (Case V).

241 311 464 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions. Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of rock in days when manual labour was readily available and cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled, tilled and irrigated. [409] But while mechanization, particularly in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even this kind of development on account of their small size, tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the soil which it held in place collapses over the terraces below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 241 454 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this picture since they make for further divisions in an already minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is frequently deterred from making improvements on a piece of land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either owns himself or has on long lease and which show the necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability (Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building (Case I).

241 423 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature. They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
465 the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal Commissioners (B/184), Midge (B/516) and Price (B/556), but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
454 this same report however, it is learnt that the farming community had by that date become investment conscious and had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field work at all. The developments observed by the 1911 Commissioners were by no means general among the rural population at that time. They were in fact merely the first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
178 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
433 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
722 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
465 in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before. He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce - or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was the feeling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time, the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman. The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

178 standards demanded have risen; and luxuries, once almost
511 unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern of the life of the countryman (Section 2). For most of these new needs the farmer has required money. Hence progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition
178 of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some
511 villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is
454 coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated
[453] wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by the 1911 Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere accumulation of wealth whether in money or in jewellery and other valuables.

178 There is still, however, a very strong element of
181 accumulation rather than investment in the finances of the
454 farmer. This is particularly the case with the older
511 generation who, as always, cling to the ways of the past because their lack of formal education makes them, apparently, unable to comprehend or adapt themselves to the workings of the present. Thus it is held that, while the younger generation have sought to urbanize themselves socially and economically with the money which now comes their way, many of the older generation, that is to say those who are tending to stay in farming today, have taken the 'new' money but have not changed their way of life or living standards to anything like the same extent. Thus dress, for example, is no sure indication of a farmer's wealth in terms of money and one hears of bare-foot, shabbily clothed countrymen with savings of £1000 or more. In traditional Maltese village society the uniformity which was the keynote (Section 1) encouraged the farmer to appear like his neighbour lest he be accused of deviationary tendencies: this feeling is often revealed today in the reluctance of the farmer to be the first to try a new method or crop in his fields for fear of becoming a laughing-stock.

Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' - i.e. non-rural - district, their saving is not completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

178 Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society
583 which is currently assuming different proportions to those
183 earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as sub-
583 stantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
183 land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
[554] girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance (B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts of the Islands have increased and marriages between individuals from different villages and also from differing economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
● 454 new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
423 desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen
471 (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War, and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
654 farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for
[426] capital. The Government added to this money consciousness with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest loans for capital improvements of the farms and their equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
234 nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
434 progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
426 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
[654] the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he fully realises that without the present Government guarantee (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all. He probably does realise this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize their farm and herd as they would wish. For example, while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them reluctant to take on any further loan commitments; nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be able to increase the number in their herd and also mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
234 that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
434 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
654 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U with as much milk as possible.

They have no thought or care as to what might happen were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly little appreciation of the total picture of which they form part and will be content to grumble quietly and ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation
[212] brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate (Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
178 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
434 The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
454 which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
234 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
654 provision of dowries and wedding costs, etc., are met.
[451] This farmer admits to having been able to save more than £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread". He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying, today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
434 accounts of the working of his farm. His second employ-
241 ment brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
[511] weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc. and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the steady income from his other job farming has something of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
571 to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
[65] is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[157] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
454 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
[593] call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a few cases was it found that she was making any detailed attempt at budgeting for the expenses of her home and family. As with the operation of the farm so with the home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
[178] that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
178 Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as possible, though the provision of the family's clothing, as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven to make clothes for the members of the grower's family, is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
[656] Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for
[433] rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas, pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes, endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges, apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

457 511 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm and that spent on the household.

In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and [593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where they proved of major importance and benefit.

At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance [454] of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X). The period in question was financially atypical for this man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for any farmer like him is further complicated by the uncommercial approach which is made to the labour of the farmer himself(and in this Case that of a brother and nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed because custom demands that they are done and a job is not neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus [511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure as a cost in production (Section 2).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit 434 (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable. 454 In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57 458 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only £340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew "receives something when a crop is sold". Other items sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season each of the brothers received a gross profit of about £250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X) nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57 from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far [181] hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production or farm management and in part also echoes the conservation and inertia of the traditional peasant.

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to 'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt. He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the financial point of view, to his commanding position during the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
511 unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
471 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
[369] in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25, although the average per capita income for the whole country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing and other essential items are often quite exorbitant, especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954 survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of £136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75 per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer. In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the
[434] labourer without field commitments of his own can demand his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases, markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
434 average, a standard of life still slightly below the general level, although the disparity is by no means as great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Above-average exceptions include those farmers who have been able to profit from the present regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

747
648

439 suffers by being inadequately graded and packed does not concern him although the specialist working in Malta on marketing problems has stressed this as a primary weakness up to now (B/253). The farmer is further reluctant to [178] change to the production of certain 'early' varieties of potato which would sell much more profitably on the overseas market than does the Arran Banner which has been the predominant variety in the Islands for several decades.

178 The argument returns, in fact, to the thesis put forward in a number of contexts in this report that the farmer 241 is still thinking very much as a peasant subsistence producer although to outward appearances he has now become a fully commercial, cash-cropping farmer. This outlook, the product of illiteracy and confined experience, will have to be appreciated by those concerned with any kind of improvement and development in the Maltese agriculture. It is the younger, literate generation of the farming community who would be capable of education in these terms - if they stay in agriculture to be educated.

654 In the long run it would appear that the most satis- 426 factory kind of financial help to farming is the loan at very low interest rate (Section 2). The basis of this was the Agriculture and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, No.11 of 1956, which authorized the loans for approved capital improvement projects at only 1% interest per annum. A major result of the loan system was that it made the farmer independent of money-lenders and money-lending middlemen. Previously many farmers had suffered near financial strangulation in the grip of these indivuals, particularly where they were operating under perpetual debt (v. Cases V and IX). A second great advantage of the loan is that the farmer is able to improve his farm and farming and at the same time preserve that independence of operation so dear to him. Many of the subsidies on seeds, rations, etc. have forced him to use his money in a certain way. He much prefers if possible to have the money and spend it as he chooses on machinery, livestock and fodder, buildings, cisterns, irrigation equipment, land reclamation, and repayment of previous debts, etc.

654 One disturbing feature of the loans is, however, that 426 they are putting a lot of money into the hands of the 454 farmer without necessarily ensuring that it is spent to the best advantage of agriculture or to the farmer himself in a long term view. For example much of the money loaned has been put towards the purchase of livestock and accommodation for animals in order to increase milk production, while the present regime of guaranteed milk price remains. To this extent the loans have helped the

654 herdsman to produce a new over-grown dairy industry
426 (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this
454 Section).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has
467 been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly no less strained have been relations between one farmer and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has emerged on the administrative side of farming in the Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic
[474] co-operation (Section 2). The main outcome of this has been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed
[747] any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives (Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in [illegible]. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829 It has also precluded the development of a substantial
474 co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

industry in search of it.

(5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture (Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

(a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

(c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

(6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

*159 433

3	rotal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8	" cake	3s. 6d.
5	" sulla	1s. 4d.
8	" beans	5s. 0d.
1	basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½	" straw	6d
		12s. 8d.

- Sample daily feed for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48	rotal bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16	" barley	6s. 0d.
4	bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green barley)		5s. 0d.
		£2. 6s. 0d.

[434] - Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

*159 234 G. Husbandry.

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".
- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
(a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
(b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
(c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

*159 241 (ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.
- Two rotations are in use,
(a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
2nd yr: Sulla
3rd yr: Wheat
4th yr: Fallow
(b) 1st yr: Wheat
2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor plowing.
4th yr: Fallow

*159 43 829 H. General.

- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.
[454] - At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

*159 234 CASE II: Guseppe (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Guseppe is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. Livestock.
- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] [454] [412] [409] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245] (i)
- Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shoots cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159
[245] - Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] [461] (ii) - Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii) - Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.
[231] - Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

*159 H. General.
829 - Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still
241 expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 - Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and
[434] grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables
[234] (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.
[511] - Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends
● [454] little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious
[241] to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.
[511] - Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

* 159 443 434 521 Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti' Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

* 159 423 **A. Land.**

30 Tmien in Waxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

* 159 241 311 **B. Utilisation.**

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under foddra (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

* 159 23 **C. Livestock.**

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

* 159 [423] [454] [412] [407] **D. Capital.**

- Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- Freehold village house.
- According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
- Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc.
No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

* 159 464 **E. Labour.**

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting.
[427] During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
- Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

* 159 433 **F. Production and Sales.**

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and wool.
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

* 159 241 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annually.
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prevents the employment of the normal four-year rotation.

800 authorities each year.

*159 494 234 434 [432] Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in for cows. [454] He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 423 234 [429] Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 342 351 423 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the ground floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

*159 C. Livestock.
231 - 50 goats
234 - 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.
- Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 D. Capital.
42 - The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).
● 454 - Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.
[407] - No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tonna when necessary.

E. Labour.
*159 - No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed
464 at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.
- Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

2. *159 F. Production and Sales.
43 - Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qenter respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.
These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

G. Husbandry.
*159 - Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of
231 fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention
234 to holding.
- Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

H. General.
*159 - When asked whether he considered himself to be herds-
433 man or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.
- In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
246 lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 A. Land.
427 - Has 3 timon, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

159 B. Utilisation.
241 - The 3 timon field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.
159 - Is changing over from goats to cattle.
231 - Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
234 - Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

159 D. Capital.
154 - No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.
[464] - Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.
[434] - Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
[234] - Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

G. Husbandry.
159 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is
231 said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.
[427] - Rents 7 timon of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.
[311] - This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly 2 tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.
[435] - Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to
[434] quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

H. General.
159 - Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no
156 knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159 - Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
156 - Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.
[231] - Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

159 492 [423] [234] Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 dunam and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

159 492 234 433 The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says [232] Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

159 407 454 234 [429] Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tonna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and the van. [435] One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

C. Livestock.

159 23 234 (i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.
(ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.
(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

D. Capital.

159 [472] (i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

E. Labour.

159 464 407 427 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).
(ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.
(iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.
(iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

F. Production and Sales.

159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

*159 178 829 [454] Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming" although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-bieđja f'Malta spiċċat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423 (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

[429] Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 231 C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.
- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Inglizi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property.

42 (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[423]

[454] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools

[407] - rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.

- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.

[312] - no piped water until Feb. 1958.

E. Labour.

*159 464 - No permanent hired labour.

- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.

- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 434 435 - Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.

- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.

- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and oak 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tonne.

- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.

[433] - Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

G. Husbandry.

*159 231 (i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)

- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.

[232] - Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 234 829 H. General.

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect continued Government assistance.

[426] Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

159 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to
245 quality as those for the table.

159 In this move towards more vine production and the recent
245 interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to empha-
231 size the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for
451 Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held [593] "in one purse". Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

159 At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400,
434 less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop
454 was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with
[511] several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30 for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

159
434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit.....	£340	-	£340
Grapes.....	49	£ 8	57
Sulla.....	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.....	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.....	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

159 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to
434 year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices
435 to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more [454] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

159 434 454 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent. Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in [407] fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of 16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding, in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

159 511 262 Expenses within the household are difficult to determine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva), a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat and ham, coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc), olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958) -butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (għaġin). Ġamri observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually insufficient for the family so additional quantities of these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring [354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not considered essential even during the coldest part of the winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

159 262 [369] The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural Malta. In some details this differs from that found among urban working classes in the Islands but these differences are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm, where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet [785] on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An important factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions. Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of activity reflects the major points of contrast between the 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in contrast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off duty.

Ġanri and farming

Ġanri is a highly intelligent man in his forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them all". English language is synonomous with education in his thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer. The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time conditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market"; now his position is one of a constant battle with rising costs. Ġanri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġanri himself, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities". Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country". But even Ġanri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement (another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some part in the secular administration of the country for he believes that an application for relief for storm damage made, through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious. Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

159 829 821 181 198 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.

Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

159 423 427 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production.)
(Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

A. Land.

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 5.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

159 241 B. Utilisation.

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9	tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9	"
Potatoes	6.2	"
Other vegetables	4.9	"
Fallow or unproductive or lot 'bin-nofs'.	12.6	"
	62.5	tmien

159 231 C. Livestock.

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

159 423 454 D. Capital.

(i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.
(ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.
(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

159 400 427 (iv) - Equipment:
- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
- Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding. Ġ

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

*159 423 429 A. Land.

(i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mellieha District. 2 tmien freehold.
(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.
(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.
(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced as annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 B. Utilisation. With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons. Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.
(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 C. Livestock. During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 D. Capital.

[423] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
[435] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E.
[454] Estimated possible total less than £100.
[406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
[494] [241] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-ploughing: shallow-ploughing at 10s per tomna and deep-ploughing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
[464] - Rarely hires labour.
[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

was taken for granted.

(iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven in his district. Not prepared to accept anything technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Ċenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

Ċenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed village weighman is important both because of the extra income which it brings and on account of the social standing which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and other business. He was one of the many farmers able to build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45 War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local standards and Ċenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation to which he added a further £1200. This money was put towards the new house and towards the costs of building up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale. In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same period.

Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders. This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 829 178 [554] [793] [626] [177] [799] [651] As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows further enhance his status. He maintains that within the village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in the towns. Censu shares the still general view that money given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the community". Money paid to the Government in the form of taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 423 427 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

A. Land.

33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 231 234 C. Livestock.

Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 [423] [454] [407] D. Capital.

- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 464 [465] [427] 741 [407] E. Labour.

- Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
  Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
  Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
- Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 13/- to £1 a tmien.

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance. He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily - because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging the younger farming generation from staying on the land and struggling against rising costs to sell products which are but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XLIV : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)
423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Mofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
[427] - Soils: i-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

[241] - Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

454 - No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
422 - Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
423 - Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

464 - Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
[465] - Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 [464] - to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.
[433] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using
[251] many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43 (i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year.
Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmion field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250

Value of produce consumed by family £30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. [454] As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve.

*159 157 829 PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

*159 241 829 of these problems is without solution and he puts a great part of the blame on the Maltese farmer himself who is prevented says Ġ by his illiteracy and suspicion from uniting and from seeking to improve his own farming. He maintains that it is possible to make money in farming today in the Islands, but only with the right methods, ideas and facilities. This is where he himself comes in, for he believes his ideas on mechanization are the answer, leading to the elimination of hand labour as far as possible. He insists that a profitable farm must be a workable unit, that is a large patch of twenty, forty or more tmies capable of being worked by mechanical implements. Moreover, he insists that the farmer should, where possible, sell his own produce to the consumer in order to evade the 'middle-men' and thereby make a greater profit.

Ġanni himself talks vaguely of acquiring such a farm, although to date his contract-plowing has absorbed all his profit-making energies.

Ġanni's view of the farmer in Malta.

He lays a great deal of the blame for the present agricultural difficulties at the door of the farmers themselves. His view of his fellow farmers and villagers approaches cynicism: "The farmer's illiteracy prevents him from admitting that anything could be better than that which he knows. It also prevents him from trusting other farmers and prevents him from realizing the folly of putting bad-weight with produce for export. The young people who are far from illiterate and will listen to reason are not staying on the land long enough for this to be of lasting benefit to agriculture". He observes that the farmer is keen for a sure profit but not at all anxious to plunge his often considerable capital into [178] a new venture such as buying a tractor. In fact he will not accept any new method or crop before he sees it a working success - preferably in a field near his own. This applied particularly to the 'outlandish' ideas on deep-plowing which Ġanni brought back from Australia. His fellow villagers regarded his 16" mould-board, three-furrow plows with great suspicion, and his ideas on potato-ridging, combine-harvesting and threshing met with no more approval initially.

● [454] Ġanni insists that the farmer's saving is merely "an aimless accumulation of money: a man may look poor in dress and have £1000 tucked away". He says of an old lady in a nearby lonely house "She wears no shoes and has never been to Valletta but will die leaving thousands".

181 241 829 This conservatism and reluctance on the part of the illiterate farmer emerges, therefore, as a major difficulty in the way of improvement and modification. It is one which tends to be overlooked by well-meaning experts and officials who forget that, unlike themselves, the farmer is unable to